291 it also at night or during the rainy season, for warmth. Old men use it for the latter reason, (but call it "deg", to differentiate it from the girdle of pregnancy).

The most important, and most varied, traditional garment of both sexes and all social levels among the Amhara, is the cotton toga, "shamma". It is made from cotton spun at home and then fashioned by the weaver. It is untailored, but draped with care.

In addition to the average shamma, there is a double shamma (called "kutta") for warmth and longer wear; and a half-shamma, usually of finer weave, for prestige (called "netela") used only for daytime wear. Size specifications vary between rural and urban usage, and between districts and provinces.

294 A full size rural shamma measures about five feet by 10 feet, when finished. To achieve this size, the weaver produces a piece of cloth 2-1/2 feet x 20 feet, cuts it in half, places the borders together, and sews lengthwise. This is the most common garment of the peasant during the work-week, in the dry season, day or night, male and female. It usually has a simple, narrow, dyed border, which is colorfast only in cold water.

The "kutta", when completed, is usually 6 feet wide and up to 15 feet long, cut and sewn in similar fashion, and of coarse, tightly woven cotton. It is worn at night, 291 513 especially in the rainy season, and by travellers, for it can also be used as a blanket. Today, even in the center of Addis Ababa, one sees peasants curled up head to foot

291 in this kutta, resembling a motionless sack, stirring only
[613] when the rays of the sun begin to warm.

The "nätäla" is more loosely woven and about half the size of a "kutta". Because it was quickly made, used little cotton, and was therefore much cheaper, it was the dress of the poor and consequently despised. But in very recent times it has been finely made, some even in a factory in Dire Dawa city, and it is now finely embroidered near the border where the dyed strip used to be.

291 "Jano" or "jano kuta", as the name indicates, was
531 the fine shamma of royalty, in chich case warmth was no consideration, and border embroidery was of purple, green gold and other colored silken thread, in various designs. "Tebab" or "derb jano" was embroidered with arabesques, and nowadays has often been changed to diamonds in the national colors of Ethiopia; green, yellow, red. Now urban women wear it, and it is becoming festive dress even for peasant women.

291 The roughest, coarsest and most durable workaday shamma of the peasant has no border ("goda"). Sometimes the "ämïs" of the peasant woman is made of this tightly woven material. In the old times it had a very broad red border (a foot wide) and since it was worn by the freehold farmer, it was a garment of honor among the peasantry, even in the time of Menelik II. Now it has lost prestige, except among the more remote rural landholding kin, and it is not produced any more.

The "burnos" hooded cape of wool, is an ancient garment worn by Amhara feudal lords and royalty, both men

X794 536 796 "ellel" as shrilly as they do outside church during Coptic services. Exhausted, the powerful woman finally collapsed, and the curtain was quickly drawn to hide her during her recovery.

X794 796 Several other zar doctors demonstrated their individual "fukkara" activities. But more and more participants grew inattentive, and some began to doze. Lady Sälämtew declared the session ended at about 513 3 A.M. The women bedded down right on the floor or the mud bench, while the men who lived nearby went home, and others rolled up in blankets and skins just outside the house, under the overhanging roof. It was a cold night, usual during cloudless month of Yäkatit.

The season of the roaming zar spirits had once again been concluded, not to revive in full vigor until after the rainy season half a year later. At the convention much protection had been gained, and old protection reinforced against the many mischievous zars that might plague people in the meantime.

d) Social Aspects of the Zar Cult.

X794 608 The groups of chronically possessed persons who meet regularly as devotees of the zars, in the "wädaja" (lit. love feast), constitute what are called "aqwädash" (sometimes "aqtacha"), face-to-face societies. Their interpersonal relationships soon become social, much like the mähabbär communal worship society of the church. Both establish bonds which, to the Amhara mind, become "artificial kinship". Not infrequently this leads to the establishment of bonds of actual affinal kinship (as described earlier).

X794 772 The parallel can also be applied to an understanding of the leadership involved. Much like the mähabbär is led and blessed by the priest-confessor, so the zar society is led and blessed by the

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
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habit is not confined to Abyssinia! The second, which is more curious, is that of protection against the sun's rays. In this connection it is interesting to recall that Mr Mansfield Parkyns, who spent three years in Abyssinia, used no head covering of any sort at any time other than a coating of butter, which he says he found as effective as any hat.

The third (and most frivolous) reason is that butter in the hair hampers the free movement (and consequent irritation) of the little creatures that live there. There is possibly something in this, as a "head-scratcher", in the form of a blunt silver or wooden pin, is a general ornament, as incidentally is also an "ear-cleaner" which resembles a small salt-spoon.

In some parts of the country where the hairdressing mode is of an elaborate character, the women, when lying down to sleep, use wooden head-rests for their necks, made of a slightly curved piece of wood supported on a sort of foot, the whole being a few inches high. Some of these are quite elaborately carved or coloured; but however pleasing they may be to the eye—and I have seen some very pretty ones—they must make exceedingly uncomfortable pillows, and the use of them appears to argue an even greater interest in personal appearance than European women display. These head-rests are of very ancient origin; they are curiously similar to the one discovered in Tutankhamen's tomb.

The more wealthy Abyssinians are very partial to scents and scented hair oils; the strength of the scent is more important to them than its quality, and the shops in Addis Ababa do a brisk trade in inferior

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
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492 mouth and causes it to bleed freely; in spite of, or perhaps because of this, I never came across an Abyssinian pony with a hard mouth; indeed, they can nearly all be ridden on a snaffle.

Their mules are so covered with many-hued trappings that sometimes they leave very little of the beast to be seen. These trappings are made of several thicknesses of native-dyed coloured leathers sewn together, machine-embroidered in silks of many colours, and covered with metal ornaments.

On special occasions the Abyssinians of rank cover their mules with extra gorgeous drapings in vivid colourings of velvet or silk, decorated with handsome embossed silver or silver-gilt ornaments. The men themselves on these occasions bring out their best sword and buckler, the latter being made of stretched and shaped rhino hide, covered with velvet and ornamented with silver and gilt mountings.

342 The houses of the wealthier people are constructed of stone (of which ample supplies are available almost everywhere), plastered together with a sort of mortar called *chika*, mostly mud and water; the roof is either of corrugated iron or is thatched. They are as a rule one-storied buildings, though I have been in one or two that had an upper story surrounded by a verandah and reached by an outside staircase, but these have generally been acquired from Greeks. In these cases [231] the ground floor is frequently used as stabling for the mules and ponies (even amongst Greeks and Armenians), a state of affairs which can hardly be regarded as sanitary.

In the peasants' *tukuls* in the country, men, women, and children, mules, ponies, and other animals sleep

8: Rex G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

513 all together in their single room; if to the aroma arising from this combined population be added the acrid [372] smoke from a fire made of dung-cakes, and a plentiful accompaniment of fleas and other insects, the joys of a night's shelter in such quarters may well be imagined.

351 The house nearly always stands in a very large piece of ground surrounded by a mud and stone wall. It is a curious habit of theirs that in building the wall they generally start with the gateway. Occasionally, for one reason or another, the wall-building suffers a hitch, and one sees the quaint spectacle of a gateway (sometimes with a gate), a few yards of wall, and then nothing to impede general ingress. Some of the chiefs, 342 however, are now building themselves better places, especially those that have been on missions to Europe. But even among these an ordinary *tukul* sometimes suffices, and most of the important chiefs I met in Abyssinia were content with most primitive installations.

The *tukuls* of the poorer class are mostly constructed in a circular form of sticks plastered inside and out with mud. The roof, which is made separately and put on last, is cone-shaped, made of sticks or cane bound strongly together with strips of bark and then thatched: the latter is an art in which the Abyssinians particularly excel. The roof extends two or three feet from the walls; thus the torrential rains run off easily and leave the hut perfectly dry.

342 Inside, a part is usually divided off by a length of 352 sheeting suspended on a string, behind which, on a raised platform, the family sleep on couches or beds made of wood and grass and covered with skins; blankets are uncommon, and the *chammas* in which

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

*665 512 462 [854] [853] the morning and what remains to be done. The peasant may retire for a nap, and perhaps to lie with his wife, before taking up the afternoon's work. He returns for about three more hours of plowing after his noon rest. The afternoon sun burns down on him; the plow is harder to wield; he plods on. At home the women continue their work, no sooner finishing one task than they attend to another. The mother puts the child who rides on her back to the breast whenever it cries.

*565 512 233 857 [262] [291] The shepherds do not come home for lunch. They have taken some *ĭnjarā* or *dābo* ("whole wheat bread") along with them. In harvest months they enjoy a special treat, roasting grains or pulse which they have snatched from somebody's field. Though their responsibility is great—a boy will be whipped if an animal in his charge gets hurt or lost or if it gets into fields of grain—their work is light. They spend the day running idly, practicing war chants, playing at various adult activities. Their mood is as free as the great spaces about them. As the day grows hotter they are likely to discard their sheepskin covering and move about naked. Toward dusk, the shepherds' spirits quicken. Their songs become more excited; lively melodies are heard from their wooden flutes. It is time to go home to family, supper, and fire.

*565 512 [264] When father and sons enter after the day's work, they start munching on roasted grains, *ĭnjarā*, or *dābo*. They may drink some *ṭallā* and relax. It begins to get chilly. The room is dark and smoky, the fleas bite them—but it is the easiest time of the day. The family is together, and everyone enjoys talking and hearing about the homely events of the day. A few hours after dark, supper is served. Parents and older children eat together out of a common basket. Younger children and servants stand respectfully, awaiting their turn, grateful if someone places a large bite of food in their mouths.

[515] [1182] [513] [352] After dinner there is a great washing of feet—the father's by his wife or children, the others' by themselves. The peasant recites or reads his evening prayers and lies down on his bed made of strips of cowhide. The children settle for the night on the clay benches. Last of all, the mother covers the embers with ashes, sets out the grain she must grind before dawn, and places her weary body next to that of her husband's.

*565 512 527 This grueling schedule is not repeated every day. On nearly half the days in each month heavy labor is not permitted—men may not plow or harvest, women may not grind or spin. These are holy days: Saturdays and Sundays (both of which are honored as the Sabbath in Abyssinia) and the monthly and annual commemorations of the saints.

*565 512 527 462 [524] The woman's schedule on such days is only lightened, not radically altered. Food and drink must still be prepared and served. Except for a possible trip to church with her husband Sunday morning before breakfast, a woman's hours are still confined to the home compound and its obligations. The shepherds must still take care of their herds, though some boys may get together for